

The History of The Black Community in Newark

INTRODUCTION

The story of the black presence in Newark is, for the most part, a microcosm of the struggle of blacks in the State of New Jersey and nationally. There are of course those facets unique to Newark i.e.. Newark's housing shortage, strong industrial past and proximity to New York.

It is a story not far removed from that of other ethnic groups; a struggle for freedom and a chance to share in the promises of democracy and free enterprise. The story is long (blacks have been in New Jersey since the seventeenth century), laborious and riddled with unkept promises and "dreams deferred".

But the black population of Newark has persevered and there have been successes; Samuel Cornish, James Baxter, Satchel Paige, Sarah Vaughn, Melba Moore, Leroi Jones. Newark has been a laboratory for experiments in black political power and ethnic tolerance.

In the 1980's the old problems persist: poor housing, little economic advancement and indifference by segments of the white society. But black Newark is grappling with its challenges and experiencing more political power, social and economic opportunity than ever before.

Slavery

It can be surmised that the history of the black community in Newark began shortly after the arrival in 1666 of the thirty Puritan families from Connecticut who are credited as the city's first settlers. Led by Robert Treat in search of religious freedom and self determination, the group established their settlement on the banks of the Passaic River and may have called it New Ark or New Work to signify new spiritual ventures. Although it appears that the Puritans did not bring slaves with them to Newark (which included a large part of Essex County), they had no qualms about later acquiring slaves to help settle their Zion. Thus, the first blacks came to this city in bondage and to a great degree their story is that of slaves throughout New Jersey. Despite the presence of reformers, slavery had a long history in New Jersey. It was one of the last northern states to end its practice, waiting until the passing of the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865 which finally abolished slavery in America. Its earliest recording in New Jersey was in 1680 where 60-70 slaves were noted on a plantation in shrewsbury. Although slavery was probably introduced in New Jersey later than in some other colonies, e.g. Virginia in 1619, it received official recognition as early as 1664-1665 in New Jersey's colonial constitution. This constitution, the Concessions and Agreement of Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, proprietors of the colony, promised economic independence and personal freedom to the colonists and encouraged slavery and indentured servitude as an inducement for settlement. A grant of 150 acres was offered to every free man in 1665, with decreasing acreages to those who came in succeeding years. An additional

75 acres was given for each servant or slave a settler brought with him. The more slaves, the more land a settler was given. Thus, the government of England recognizing that the immense labor required to develop the new land was more than could be handled by the settlers alone, encouraged the slave trade in New Jersey. Slavery quickly became an important element in the economic life of the colony. In 1702, its Governor was instructed by superiors in England, to "further trade with Africa and to have on hand a supply of merchantable negroes".

Africans were not the only group who provided labor for the colony. Some of the indigenous Lenni-Lenapi Indians were used as slave laborers as well as indentured servants from Europe. The Indians did not adjust well to slavery and died in large numbers or escaped, some to join the hands of their people moving west. Although indentured servitude was wide spread and continued into the eighteenth century, African slavery became an essential if not dominant labor force in the colonies.

Curiously, the early Puritans who came to New Jersey (and Newark) seeking religious and personal freedom, found no contradiction between slavery and their value for individual freedom and piety. The religious community of the Puritans and Anglicans supported slavery, viewing it as an economic tool. The injustice of slavery was rationalized with a complex theory of white superiority. Blacks in many cases were thought to be inferior creatures for whom slavery was an acceptable condition.¹ African slaves had no rights under the law. Those slaves who accepted Christianity were allowed to marry and to be baptised, otherwise their participation in the church was prohibited. The black presence in the church was segregated.

1. Frances D. Pingeon
Blacks in the Revolutionary Era,
 New Jersey's Revolutionary Experience
 New Jersey Historical Commission
 Trenton, NJ 1975
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Africans did not passively accept their bondage. The desire for freedom was ever present. Runaway attempts were frequent as well as slave rebellion and other forms of active and passive resistance. Slavery, despite its economic advantages, soon created social and legal dilemmas for the white population. The slave's desire for freedom and sharply racist attitude of some New Jerseyans, especially those in eastern Jersey, gave rise to harsh laws and punishments as New Jersey attempted to control her human chattel.

In 1675, the New Jersey Assembly passed a law making it illegal to help fugitive slaves. Slaves could not own land or trade with whites, unlike their indentured white brethren who in many cases received parcels of land or money to help establish themselves at the end of their period of service.

The laws governing slave behavior were numerous and strict. Although the African distinguished himself in animal husbandry and as a hunter bringing skills learned in his homeland, he was not allowed to own animals or hunt except in the company of white man. Any slave found five miles from his owner's property without a certificate of his owner's permission could be apprehended, whipped and imprisoned. The punishment for running away was whipping. Free negroes could not travel outside their township or county without an official pass. Fearing slave uprisings or other retribution, New Jersey passed a law in 1694 making it illegal for a slave to carry a gun. Any slave engaged in commerce was whipped. It was illegal for slaves to gather in large groups or to be found outside their home after a certain hour.

Prior to 1695 slave legal matters were heard in the same court as whites. In 1695 a law was passed in New Jersey creating "slave courts" to try slave infractions from felony to murder. Later this law was reversed as inconvenient. Punishment for

infractions of the law was harsh. Crimes such as arson and murder were punished by burning to death in public. Theft was punished by public whipping.

There are no statistics available to show the number of slaves in Newark at the beginning of the 18th century. However, by 1737, New Jersey was reported to have 3,981 slaves, representing 8.4 percent of the total population. By 1800 there were 12,422 recorded slaves in New Jersey, comprising 5.8 percent of the populations.² By the 1700's New Jersey's growing slave population was viewed as a threat. Increasing incidents of slave crimes and the constant fear of slave insurrection made the colonists reexamine the merits of slavery. In 1714, a duty was placed on each slave in an attempt to limit slavery and encourage white migration. The act expired in 1721. An attempt to impose a similiar tariff in 1744 was proposed and rejected. The debate between the economic advantages of slavery versus the social and moral problems it created continued into the next century when Newark's entry into the industrial age and new immigrant labor from Europe made slavery impractical for the city.

The contradictions of slavery and the harsh treatment of slaves, particularly in eastern Jersey spawned an anti-slavery feeling among some New Jerseyans. The anti-slavery movement in New Jersey was led by the Quaker community, most of whom lived in western Jersey. The Quaker doctrine of brotherhood and their own experience with persecution compelled their community to acknowledge Africans as part of mankind and slavery, a transgression of Christian love. Thus, slavery came to be considered inconsistent with Christian doctrine by the Quakers.

2. "Transcriptions of Early County Records of NJ"
Gloucester County Series
 Slave Documents
 Historical Records Survey
 Works Projects Administration
 Newark, New Jersey 1940.
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John Woolman, a Quaker store keeper from Burlington County was an early spokesman for the anti-slavery movement. He admonished his fellow Christians on the evils of slavery and their unjust treatment of Indians. Although Woolman championed racial justice, he shared the common belief of the time that whites were superior to blacks, but he encouraged whites to use their superior gifts to serve mankind.³

Black Involvement in the American Revolution

By 1776 the anti-slavery movement had gained momentum in the colonies. Abolitionists made public pleas for an end to slavery. There was discussion in the colonial legislature about improving the conditions for blacks. Bills in that regard were proposed and pending. However these activities were interrupted by the growing conflict between the colonists and the British and the discussion of rebellion and revolution. Although the colonists' concern for self determination and personal liberty stimulated some interest in the plight of slaves, action in that regard seems to have been superseded by their uncertain relationship with the British and the struggle for independence. There seems to have been little acknowledgement, outside of the Quaker community, that slaves might have had the same desire for self determination as their colonist masters.

The security created by the threat of war produced a conservative and uneasy mood in the colonies. Pro-slavery forces talked of a mass black insurrection that would occur while Colonial militias were engaged in fighting the British. Some slave owners proposed that all arms in the hands of negroes, slave or free, be confiscated; others went so far as to propose that all blacks be sent back to Africa at their

3. Clement Price
Freedom Not Far Distant
 New Jersey Historical Society
 Trenton, NJ 1980
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owners' expense. In 1779, blacks in Elizabethtown were accused of plotting with Loyalist agents to murder Tory sympathizers. With the future of the colony at risk, the slave issue was tabled until the revolutionary crisis was over.

When the war actually broke out many slaves saw it as an opportunity for freedom or short of freedom, a chance to improve their situation. Slaves fought on both sides of the Revolution. Some fought with the British hoping they would make good on their promise of freedom if Britain won the war. Others joined the Loyalists as a means of escape from bondage or in retaliation against their masters. Blacks played an important part in Loyalist attacks on the East Jersey coast. A slave called Tye, who earned the title of colonel in the Loyalist army, frequently visited New Jersey.

Although George Washington advised against using slaves as soldiers, blacks did join the American side as runaways hoping for freedom. Others joined for material reward and out of patriotism. Many slaves hoped the liberty and independence being fought for might apply to them; that by fighting in the colonist war for independence they might win their own. Some whites who were reluctant to leave their farms and families, sent their slaves to fight in their place. Benjamin Coe, a resident of Newark too old to fight against the British, sent his slave Jack Cudjo as his replacement. For his service Jack Cudjo was manumitted and given an acre of land on High Street in Newark near Nesbitt Street.

Coe was the exception. Most slaves in Newark and in the rest of East Jersey experienced little change in their status in the post war period. Winning the War for Independence did little to change most slave holders' attitudes toward blacks in this portion of the state.

Abolitionism, the Underground Railroad,
Passage of the 13th Amendment.

The humanistic atmosphere after the Revolution did create a fertile atmosphere in some areas of the new nation for the movement to end slavery. By its end every northern state (except New Jersey and New York) had adopted laws against its practice and most of western Jersey under the influence of the Quakers had abandoned slavery as immoral. However, in the eastern counties, including Newark slavery was entrenched and unaffected by moral or religious arguments. The eastern pro-slavery faction blocked any attempt to pass anti-slavery legislation. Total manumission of slaves was far from a reality.

Realizing the magnitude of their struggle, in 1783, New Jersey abolitionists formed the New Jersey Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery. Weak and disorganized, when the group took a position on slavery publicly, it advocated gradual emancipation with compensation to slaveowners. In 1804 the Society advocated abolishing slavery for the unborn. That same year the New Jersey legislature adopted the Act of Gradual Emancipation of Slavery.

Although this bill was far short of a manumission declaration it can be considered an achievement. The Society was finally able to make a compromise with New Jersey's strong pro-slavery lobby. In taking the middle ground between human rights issues and the sanctity of private property (slaves were regarded as property) the society moved a step closer to manumission for all slaves. Under the Act for the Gradual Emancipation of Slavery children born after July 1804 were free, but servants of the owner of the mother until age twenty-five for men and twenty-one for women. Owners were allowed to release and maintain at public expense newborn and thus emancipated children.

Some unscrupulous owners rather than manumit their slaves, sold them to slave traders in the south. In 1812, the New Jersey Legislature passed a law to discourage this practice, but allowing slaves to "voluntarily" be removed from the state. This provision exploited the ignorance of slaves. Some slaves found themselves being "voluntarily" removed to southern bondage. Many times even free negroes were sold into bondage in the south under this law.

After the Revolution, Newark recovered quickly. By 1800, Newark was entering the industrial age as were other American cities. The quiet agrarian community envisioned by the Puritans was gone forever. Leather was the dominate industry in Newark. Moses Combs, one of Newark's earliest industrialists made a fortune in leather and shoes trading with the south. Combs went on to establish what has been called the first apprentice school in the United States to educate and train leather craftsmen. Much of the labor for the industrialization came from newly arrived European immigrants, Irish and German.

Industry and expanded commerce required improved transportation. The Highway linking Newark to Philadelphia and New York in 1790 and the building of the Morris Canal in 1829, respectively, gave Newark a prominent position in northern industrial development.

Growth and development required improved communication. In 1796, the Centinel of Freedom joined the Newark Gazette and New Jersey Advertiser as Newark's weekly newspapers. The Centinel spoke out in editorials against social issues of the day. One of those issues at the time, was of course slavery. The Centinel of Freedom, on one hand spoke out on the ills of slavery in an editorial defending the "Rights of Man", and in other issues the same paper carried advertisements offering slaves for sale.

Few blacks benefited from the development and prosperity of the early nineteenth century. Although in 1814 there was about seventy-five free negro men owning businesses and paying taxes in Newark, they could not vote. Free negroes along with women had been allowed suffrage after the American Revolution. But in 1807 the State Legislature acted to disenfranchise women and also rescinded the right for negroes and foreigners. Negroes could not vote again in New Jersey until 1870 by constitutional amendment. Women were not granted suffrage until 1920. Although disenfranchisement was the greatest disability of free blacks, other tactics were used to subordinate them to the white population. If a free black became a pauper, he could be removed to the town where he had been a slave and his former owner forced to provide for him. Despite numerous impediments in a country where slavery was still an institution, blacks worked tirelessly for freedom aided by an increasing number of sympathetic whites. In 1846, New Jersey passed a law ending slavery but declaring former slaves to be "apprentices for life".

While free blacks struggled for equality, slaves from near and distant states sought their freedom in Canada and the far northern states traveling the Underground Railroad. The earliest mention of the Rail was in two letters written by George Washington in 1786. In the letter he speaks of "systematic effort for aid and protection of fugitive slaves".⁵ Although there were a dozen routes North which crossed New Jersey, Newark was not a primary termination point on the railway. Newark was part of an alternate route. The farm on the outskirts of Newark of Alexander McLean, a Jersey

5. Wilbur Siebert
Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom
 MacMillian Company
 New York, 1898
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City newspaper man, was used when the bridges over the Passaic and Hackensack Rivers were being watched by bounty hunters. After spending the night in his barn, fugitives were sent by way of Newark or the Belleville Turnpike and Newark Avenue to ferries at Jersey City, the last Underground Railway station in New Jersey. Newark was an unfriendly town to abolitionists and escaped slaves. Profitable commerce with the South and eastern New Jersey's historical pro-slavery posture required that political favor lay with the "state's rights" and pro-slavery position of the South. Even before the national Fugitive Slave Act in 1850, New Jersey in 1826 passed a law requiring that fugitive slaves be returned to their masters. As a result, slave catchers closely patrolled the New Jersey stations for fugitive slaves.

The spread of support for the abolitionist movement and the increase in the number of freed slaves caused concern among whites. By the beginning of the nineteenth century New Jersey had more blacks than any other northern state. At the outbreak of the Civil War the black population was 25,335 in a total population of 646,699. As the number of free blacks grew under the 1804 Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery, anxiety over emancipation and what to do with free blacks increased.

At the time, the popular view of blacks as ignorant, worthless and incapable of caring for themselves made the idea of total emancipation repugnant to most whites.⁶ Of course, little consideration was given to the impediments with which blacks were faced, i.e. lack of education, racial prejudice, or disenfranchisement. Little effort was made to rectify the injustices blacks faced or to remove the obstacles to their advancement.

6. Clement Price
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Whites feared that blacks, if allowed to vote would want representation and would eventually take over the country.

"Opposition to blacks in state and local government was always open and bitter. In the press and on the platform, they were described as ignorant and depraved. Critics made no distinction between negroes who graduated from Dartmouth and those who graduated from the cotton fields. Every available means was employed to drive negroes from public life." 7

They feared the purity of the white race would be diluted. There was considerable concern over competition between whites and free blacks for jobs.

"In 1862, violent riots occurred in Cincinnati when blacks and Irish hands competed for jobs on riverboats. Lesser riots took place in Newark and in Buffalo and Troy, New York the result of combined hostility to the war and fear that Negroes would take white jobs." 8

In short, whites felt the established order would be threatened if blacks were emancipated.

In response to the free negro problem, in 1816 the American Colonization Society was formed. In Newark the Colonization Society was active through the Newark Auxiliary Colonization Society. The Colonization Society hoped to dispose of the Negro issue by depositing as many free blacks as possible in Africa.

7. Report of National Advisory Commission of Civil Disorders
Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 1968
Page 99

8. Ibid
Page 98

Colonization offered a practical and moral resolution to the problem. Since blacks would never be afforded racial equality in the U.S., they could be trained missionaries to take Christianity to the pagan African population. Educating blacks, allowing them to vote and to participate in America was never considered. Instead, large sums of money were raised to support Colonization. "The advocacy of black upliftment through the return of free blacks to africa was appealing because it involved expediency, Christian missionary spirit and assuaged the guilt of whites." ⁹ In Newark, many of the City's most distinguished citizens were involved in the Colonization movement: for example, Theodore Frelinghuysen, who would later become Governor of New Jersey. Aware of the threat which the American Colonization Society posed to their struggle for self determination and equality, freed blacks sought to discredit the Colonizationists and their ideas. Free blacks in Newark denounced the system as an instrument of the Southern slave system which wanted to rid the country of free blacks. An outspoken leader of the anti-Colonization movement was Samuel E. Cornish, a leading thinker on the question of the black man's identity. Cornish was the minister of the Negro Presbyterian Church in Newark and the editor of the "Freedom's Journal", the first black newspaper in the United States (begun in 1827). Cornish believed that democracy was the birthright of both American blacks and whites. He denounced Colonizationists for their opposition to the educational and legal improvement of blacks in America. He supported economic development for blacks, urging them to acquire land in the North.

9. Clement Price
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Samuel Cornish was joined by two other blacks, Peter Johnson and Henry Drayton to form the Anti-Slavery in 1834. The Anti-Slavery Society spoke for the majority of blacks at the time who did not want to go back to Africa. African-Americans had as much right to full citizenship as any other ethnic group, they argued. The Colonization movement, in the opinion of blacks opposing it, was motivated completely by racism rather than a sincere effort to help free black men. Cornish's arguments and the formation of the Anti-Slavery Society mark the beginning of an organized Afro-American protest movement with its own spokesman.

Although an attempt to establish a colony of free blacks was begun in Liberia, the Colonization movement faded. The failure of Colonization may be considered a victory for black protest. Black leadership was not as fortunate in other areas, their petitions for franchisement, a central issue with the Black Protest movement, were ignored, arising at the same time as New Jersey's Pro-South Democratic Party. Blacks did not vote in New Jersey (after the brief post-Revolution period) until the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870 assured suffrage to all Americans regardless of race or ethnic origin.

To ameliorate their condition, before and after the Civil War blacks formed supportive institutions devoted to race upliftment. The most important of these was the black church. For a long time the church was the only organized black activity allowed by whites. Black churches functioned as multi-purpose centers for their communities. They provided social, cultural and political outlets. They disseminated morals and values.

The first black church in Newark was the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, located on Academy Street. It was organized in 1822.

The Fourth Presbyterian Church was dedicated May 7, 1835 after a few blacks withdrew from Old First Church determined to have more active participation in services. In 1848, a group of black Episcopalians left Trinity Church to form their own parish. They were given land on High Street by William Wright, a leading city industrialist, politician and Trinity lay leader. The new black parish became St. Philips Episcopal Church. St. James African Methodist Episcopal Church was founded in 1842; Bethany Baptist in 1871.

Blacks clearly understood the value of education in the struggle for improvement. Many black churches ran Sunday School programs of moral and formal instruction. The minister many times was also the school master. In 1828, two black leaders in Newark called for public support of a school to educate free black children, since blacks were barred from public schools in Newark.

The Colored School in Newark was opened in the basement of the Colored Presbyterian Church at 123 Plane Street. The school opened to fifty children with an annual budget of one hundred dollars.

For the most part, Newark's pre-Civil War sympathies were with the South. Slavery was considered an issue of states' rights. Newark was the industrial center of the North, sending 65 percent of its output to the Southern market. The situation was comfortable and Newark was prospering, so most voters wanted to maintain the status quo: sanctity of property (slaves were property) and racial inequality.

When the Civil War broke out, despite the clearly anti-black climate and discrimination in the Union Army, blacks volunteered to fight. Once again, blacks saw this war as a crusade for their own freedom. Black soldiers faced discrimination

in pay, and the stereo-typed notion that blacks were unsuited for military life.

L.D. Sim's letter to Marcus L. Ward, Governor of New Jersey is an example of the eagerness of some blacks to participate in the Civil War. L.D. Sims was a resident of Newark.

L.D. Sims to Marcus L. Ward,
11 June 1863, Marcus L. Ward Papers (MG 28)
Manuscript Collections, The New Jersey Historical Society

Newark, NJ
June 11, 1863

Dear Sir,

Two weeks ago when you interested yourself to get me a position in a Color'd Regiment I had good reason for believing myself physically fit for active service-I had been free from Rheumatism for months.

Since then without any apparant cause I have been laid up three days by my old foe-and am now going to see the Surgeon of the Enrolling Board with a view of getting into the Invalid Corps.-If I get into the latter, I could do effective garrison duty, and when fit, get transfer'd to field duty.

I have the papers required by the Provost Marshal-General-except the Surgeons Certificate-and merely state the fact of my late attack to account for this application to the Enrolling Board in case its President Capt Miller should speak to you about me.

very respectfully
LD Sims

Blacks did fight, with whites and in all black companies. Many distinguished themselves in battle.

The Emancipation Proclamation put an end to slavery in 1863. The Proclamation was met by whites with anger and fear of mass slave retribution. Throughout 1862 and early 1863 various New Jersey Assemblymen introduced bills into the legislature to prevent settlement of blacks in New Jersey, to define the standing of the Negro in New Jersey, to define who actually was a Negro (anyone who is 25 percent African is a Negro), and to make interracial marriage illegal. All of these bills failed.

When the Civil War was over, Newarkers and all the nation were anxious to get on with the peace and the industrial boom that it spurred. National leaders turned

their attention to problems of industrialization, abandoning their commitment to racial reform. The future for blacks in Newark and in New Jersey looked dubious. Newark had been, at best, unsympathetic to blacks' struggle for freedom before the war and the same attitude continued after the war. The Democratic New Jersey State Legislature had refused at first to ratify the Thirteenth and the Fifteenth Amendments which protected blacks rights as American citizens. Eventually of course, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were ratified.

The jubliance of Emancipation was quickly quieted by the realities of Reconstruction. The nation's attention was on rebuilding. The end of the war had not changed pre-war attitudes about blacks. Blacks lost the support of their abolitionist friends. The attention of liberals was diverted to other causes.

By the end of the 19th century, in many ways things were worse for blacks than they had been during slavery. The security of the master was no longer there. Blacks now were in open competition with whites for America's resources and opportunities. America's new citizens found themselves uneducated and generally unprepared for life as free persons. Growing white backlash made upliftment more difficult. Segregation became the law in many places across the country.

There were some landmark breakthroughs, however. On March 31, 1870, Thomas Mundy Peterson of Perth Amboy became the first black in the nation to vote under the protection of the Fifteenth Amendment. In Newark, all public schools were opened to black children in 1870 preceeding the state school desegregation law in 1881 by eleven years. In 1884, New Jersey passed its own civil rights act

guaranteeing equal access to public accommodations for all New Jersey Citizens. Under the act violators of civil rights were fined and required to pay damages; discrimination based on race was prohibited.

The gains of Reconstruction clashed sharply with the reassertion of white supremacy across the country. Segregation and violence against blacks went for the most part unchallenged. Around the country the Fifteenth Amendment was systematically violated and blacks found themselves largely disenfranchised and without a political voice.

Black leaders read the climate of the country and turned from civil rights appeals to emphasizing race upliftment within their own segregated communities. Black thinkers of the period like Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Dubois, Dr. James Still encouraged blacks to hold to their racial identity and improve themselves. They encouraged initiative, self-reliance, education and economic development. There were also voices in the Negro community who believed full Afro-American participation in America was impossible and advocated immigration to Africa.

By the turn of the century, blacks had founded twelve weekly papers in New Jersey. Although most papers did not last more than a short time, the black press was an essential part of the civil rights movement that remained. Black newspapers carried information of interest to the community and articulated the grievances of the black population.

Immediately after the Civil War, Newark took on the distinctive image of an industrial working class city. During the remainder of the 19th century its industrial base enlarged and diversified and the labor for this industrial progress was

largely supplied by immigrant working class people.

Although in 1890 the black population in Newark was small (blacks were 2.2% of the total population; 4,141 of 181,830), the spirit of race upliftment was present. Employment opportunities at the time were limited, but blacks seized what opportunities there were and excelled. Limited opportunities were seen as stepping stones for better things in the future. Andrew McIntyre was for many years custodian of the Newark Post Office, considered a good job then. His daughter went on to be one of Newark's first black teachers. Henry Cook, Ellis Payne, and John Brown were messengers to the Mayor. This was seen as progress.

Despite the fact most black labor was unskilled, there were black shoemakers, blacksmiths and barbers. Two of Newark's best engravers and smelters were black men, Boston Purvis and Frederick Hamilton. Blacks owned property in what is now the heart of Newark. John O' Fake, restaurateur and musician owned a celebrated establishment on Broad Street. His son, Peter P. O' Fake owned a well-known dancing academy for whites on Bank Street near Broad.

In 1864, James M. Baxter (namesake of the Baxter Terrace Apartments) was appointed Principal of the Colored School. The school at this time had moved from the Plane Street location to a two-room schoolhouse on Lafayette Street. Under Baxter's leadership the quality of the school improved, it moved to improved quarters, an evening school was established and blacks were admitted to public high school.

Irene Patauam was first black to attend public school in 1871. The Board of Education's end to school segregation eventually ended James Baxter's career. The Colored School continued under his leadership at the behest of the black community until 1909, because of discrimination in public education and the good quality of education it provided.

Black Migration North

By the opening of the twentieth century, blacks understood that their dreams of freedom had been deferred. The period was marred with racial violence and lynchings. Discrimination made progress difficult, if not impossible, especially in the South. Blacks once again looked to the North for relief, this time economic as well as racial.

"By the 20th century, the Negro was at the bottom of American society. Disenfranchised, Negroes throughout the country were excluded by employers and labor unions from white collar jobs and skilled trades. Jim Crow laws and farm tenancy characterized Negro existence in the South. About 100 lynchings occurred every year in the 1880's and in 1890's;...As increasing numbers of Negroes migrated to Northern cities race riots became common place. Northern whites, even many former abolitionists began to accept the white South's view of race relations." 10.

Blacks came to New Jersey in greater numbers than any other Northern state. In the years between 1890-1900, Newark's black population increased 46.6% between 1910-1930 it would increase 132.6%.

Although Newark was far from liberal, it was attractive to early black migrants. The city's primary lure was the promise of employment and good wages. Although the opening of the twentieth century was a period of racial violence against blacks across America, Newark enjoyed relative racial calm after the Civil War. Newark's small black population of the period and majority white population had learned, for the most part to co-exist.

As stated, Newark had experienced remarkable growth in the latter half of the 19th century. The period is considered Newark's "golden age". But for all of its industrial growth, Newark was basically a lower middle class town populated by successive waves of its European immigrant work force. With the exception of a

few prosperous neighborhoods like Weequahic, Roseville and the North Ward most of Newark's residents lived in densely populated neighborhoods of small wood frame houses and tenements. By the mid-1880's Newark already had social and sanitation problems created by poor housing, overcrowding and industrialisation. But for most residents Newark's economic advantages compensated for its living conditions.

As the problems in Europe before and during World War I stopped the flow of immigrants. Factories went to overtime to keep up with the war effort. Factory owners, at a loss for workers, sent agents south to recruit cheap black labor. Blacks came North in earnest believing they were going to improve their conditions. They came unprepared for the situations awaiting them in Newark and other northern cities.

Many came from very warm climates and were not prepared for the Northern winters. Unaccustomed to the climate, living in overcrowded, unsanitary conditions, hundreds became ill, dying of pneumonia and tuberculosis. Many migrants stayed in temporary camps set up for workers outside the city, unable to find dwellings in the city proper.

Skilled trades remained closed to the black worker. They lacked experience in industrial labor, most coming from the agrarian part of the South. Inexperience forced them into the lowest paying jobs and racial prejudice kept them there. Stereotyped and viewed with paranoid suspicion, blacks were barred from the labor unions which had improved the plight of other newcomers to Newark.

Most black employment was in occupations like domestic worker, porters and waiters. William Asby, first director of the Newark Urban League, relates his experience in Newark.

"I graduated from Lincoln University in 1911. What does a Negro male, approaching twenty-two, do with a Bachelor of Arts degree from a Negro College? The avenues open to me were very few and very rigidly prescribed. I could get a position as a teacher, but that would mean that I would have to go into the deep South...The last and only opportunity of employment left open to me was to go back into the hotel and restaurant business as a waiter. I got a job in the catering establishment of the W.B. Day and Son Caterers on Broad Street in Newark.....I felt a contemptible disgust for myself. I was a disappointment to myself and to lots of people who knew I ought to do better. A college degree and still a waiter." 11

After World War I, the employment situation improved somewhat for black Newarkers.

The quantity, but not the quality of jobs improved. By 1920, factory work, not

domestic service was the primary source of employment. Despite this change,

blacks were usually confined to the lowest and most menial jobs. Then the

Depression and economic stagnation occurred replacing the prosperity of war

production and the boom of the 1920's. Thousands were unemployed. Blacks,

"last hired, first fired", were hit hardest. Relief did not come until the

Works Progress Administration and government jobs in the 1930's.

Increased migration after the war pushed the already poor housing situation

for blacks in Newark to the crisis level as property owners and real estate

interests worked in concert to restrict black settlement to the old indus-

trialized Central Ward. Central Ward housing was in a deteriorated state when

blacks arrived, having already housed successive waves of European immigrants

and the early manufactures. Newark's housing capacity had been exhausted before

the black migration by the 128% increase in population of the European immigrants

in 1890-1920. In 1915, a City planning Commission report suggested that Newark

had reached its spacial limit. As a remedy, the report suggested Newark merge

11. Harold Asby
Tales Without Hate
 Newark Preservation and
 Landmarks Committee
 Newark, NJ 1980
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with surrounding communities to accommodate its growing population. The recommendation was ignored. The housing shortage would remain and still remains one of Newark's primary social problems.

The black migrants were victims of the housing shortage. Unscrupulous landlords jammed black families into over-crowded dwellings, often charging them unreasonable rents, much more than their white predecessors had paid. Blacks did not have the option of moving somewhere else. Poverty and discrimination kept them struck. What blacks found this time in the Northern "Promise Land" were unskilled jobs at wages lower than those paid to whites, overcrowded and substandard housing at prices higher than those paid by whites. But they stayed, either doing better than they had done in the rural South or hoping they would.

Segregation did have a positive feature. It fostered the development of black institutions, businesses and organizations in Newark, most started by the migrants themselves. D.M. Brown owned Chicken Brown's Poultry Market, John Pinkman, John Booth, Fletcher & Son all owned moving companies. Joe Wright, Grant Reeves ran catering businesses. A small number of doctors, lawyers, teachers and nurses made up the professional class. Between 1917 and 1919 the Negro Welfare League was organized to help the newly arrived blacks with their social problems. The League was founded by blacks like William Ashby, Newark's first black social worker, and white industrialists and business leaders like Louis Bamberger and Felix Fuld. The Negro Welfare League would later change its name to the Urban League.

Older, longer established black residents did little to assist their brothers and sisters from the South in an organized fashion outside of the churches.

Few could afford to do anything meaningful. Some feared that association with the backward "country" arrivals would debase their image in the eyes of whites. They also feared the loss of the racial tolerance enjoyed before the migration. Blacks suffering from the ills of urban life had to look to the city and charitable organizations for help.

Newark was an ethnic city. Its sixteen wards divided into ethnic enclaves. Each neighborhood: Weequahic, Vailsburg, Clinton Hill, Down Neck, Roseville, functioned almost like small self-contained towns; as ethnic groups settled together and held to the culture of their motherlands. Black migrants to some extent followed the same settlement patterns as the earlier arrivals. But their restriction to the Central Ward was not voluntary or simply because of a desire to live among one's own people.

Blacks' efforts to make a life in Newark were complicated by obstacles experienced more acutely than the European immigrants. Blacks' search for job opportunities, decent housing and the "American Dream" was hampered by continual discrimination and racism. The migrants came at the end of Newark's "golden age" and at the beginning of the decline in the city's services and resources. The factories and businesses which formerly had provided opportunities for economic mobility were moving to the suburbs out of the reach of many blacks. The new technologies and increase in automation replaced the unskilled and semi-skilled work where most blacks were concentrated. Skilled jobs and most unions were closed to blacks. Few migrants brought industrial skills with them having come from the agrarian economy of the South. The black newcomers inherited deteriorating tenement districts and were kept from moving to better housing, even if they could afford it, by discrimination. Tuberculosis and pneumonia claimed twice as many blacks as whites. Many could not pay for proper heat, clothing or health care and many charities did not service them.

The Second Migration 1920-1949

During the years between the wars, conditions in the South and the allure of the North, however false, continued to spur black migration. A distinct and separate black community or ghetto developed in Newark. By 1930, blacks numbered 38,880 out of a total population of 442,337, composing 8.8 percent of Newark's total population. By 1940, blacks would be almost 11% of the total population. All aspects of black life: the institutions, leadership and leisure activity, etc. showed the effect of ghetto life. Although some

blacks were able to escape to surrounding areas like the South Ward, Clinton Hill and the East Ward, the concentration of blacks was still in the Central Ward, known as "The Hill." Long the most heavily populated area of Newark, by 1940 The Hill had 111.2 persons per acre.¹² It was bordered by Orange Str-et on the north, Avon Avenue on the south, High Street on the east and Bergen Street on the west.

Culturally, the area was full of vitality. Called the "Roaring Third" by residents, night clubs and bars hosted lively entertainment for blacks and some adventurous whites. With the night life came gambling parlors, numbers games and prostitution. The Hill was part of the Northeast circuit of the National Negro Acts like "King of Swing" Jimmy Lunceford, Ella Fitzgerald and Duke Ellington. The Kinney Club, The Savoy Club and The Alcazar were popular night spots during the late 1930's and 1940's. Newark was the home of several prominent black artists like Willie "The Lion" Smith, Sarah Vaughan, Babes Gonzales, Wayne Shorter, Pancho Diggs, Larry Young and Joe Thomas. Newark benefited from its close proximity to New York. The excitement of Manhattan and Harlem spilled over into its cultural life.

The Newark Eagles, members of the Negro National Baseball League which arose in the years blacks could not play professional baseball with whites, found loyal fans in the Third Ward. Larry Doby, the first black to play in the American Cleveland Indians League, the great Satchel Paige and Don Newcomb who later played with the Brooklyn Dodgers all played for the Newark Eagles. The team was owned by Abraham and Effa Manley of Newark and were based at Ruppert Stadium.

Black entrepreneurship was alive on the Hill, supported mostly by blacks. High John the Conqueror, noted soothsayer and herbologist was one of Newark's more famous black businessmen. Cosmetologist, funeral directors, a few doctors and lawyers were counted among Newark's professional elite. The Herald News owned by Harry Webb and later the Afro-American were the newspapers which carried news of concern to blacks. However, most of the

12 Clement Price.
 "The Beleaguered City as Promised Land:
 Blacks in Newark 1917-1947"
Urban New Jersey Since 1870
 Trenton, New Jersey Historical Society, Dec. 1974
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properties and businesses in the black community were owned by persons residing outside its boundaries. A 1940 census showed only 21 of 6,333 dwellings were owned by black occupants in areas of the heaviest concentration of blacks.¹³ Jewish owned Morris Newmann's Produce Market was an example of a white owned store carrying products and foods favored by blacks.

Whites responded to the large black migration with organized resistance. The press, police, business men and property owners acted in concert to keep blacks in their ghetto. Blacks were labeled as criminals and undesirables. The old black stereotypes surfaced again. In the area of public health, by the 1930's the helping hand offered blacks by social agencies and civic groups earlier changed to attacks against the migrants, charging that blacks were responsible for the deterioration in which they lived.

Proper health care was financially out of reach of many blacks. As policy the major hospitals did not permit blacks on staff. Black patients were admitted but their in-hospital treatment had to be turned over to a white staff physician. Black physicians were allowed "courtesy visits" to check in on patients and read their charts but they were not allowed to recommend treatment.

In 1927, John A. Kinney, former physician to Booker T. Washington, founded Kinney Memorial Hospital to provide affordable health care for blacks and a facility where black physicians could treat their patients. The hospital had the lowest rates in the city and by 1938 had treated 8,357 patients. Although the hospital could not provide the treatment that white institutions could, because of lack of funds and resources, it was a symbol of race self-reliance. Dr. Thomas Wright also opened a twelve bed sanitorium for needy patients called Wright's Sanitorium.

Whites commonly believed that many blacks came North for the sole purpose of collecting relief. During the depression years some attempted to stop the black tide, encouraging blacks not to

13. Clement Price
The Afro-American Community of Newark, 1917-1947,
A Social History
 Rutgers University, The State University of New Jersey,
 New Brunswick, 1975
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migrate and those already here to return to the South. Feeling threatened by the black influx many whites left the inner city for the surrounding areas of Weequahic, Vailsburg and the North Ward in the 1930's. Their outward migration was also spurred by new housing construction, the automobile and improved public transportation. Businesses too were lured to locations out of the city. The old stores and factories of the industrial inner city were increasingly abandoned, leaving blacks to inherit the remains. Blacks were barred from this outward move by segregation and lack of funds.

In 1930, Prudential Insurance Company replied to cries for improved housing in the Central Ward with a plan to build a low-income housing project in the Hill district, Prudential Homes. Many whites opposed the plan, fearing it would attract even more migrant blacks. The units were built despite the opposition and provided some relief to the housing shortage in the Central Ward.

Prior to the World War I black migration, Newark black churches were those established in the 19th century. They were dominated by Newark's established black residents and represented their spiritual and social needs. The migration multiplied the number of churches and by 1932 the new churches outnumbered the old pre-migration congregations like Bethany Baptist, St. James AME and St. Philips Episcopal. The varied voices and increased number of the churches diluted their earlier role as institutions of social control and leadership. Secular organizations like the N.A.A.C.P. (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) and the Urban League rose to take some power and influence formerly exercised by the churches. These organizations were middle class in values, controlled by college education blacks and more effective in representing the positions of blacks to the larger white population.

The older churches were symbols of race respectability and race uplift. Their leaders were men of scholarship, their services stayed and dignified with little of the emotionalism of Southern congregations. These churches represented appropriate behavior

and a means of institutionalizing social control acceptable to whites. Bethany Baptist distinguished itself as the leading black church in Newark in terms of size of following and financial solvency. Its congregation was drawn largely from the established black community. Robert Travis, from an "old Newark" family and one of the earliest black civil servants, working in the Essex County Courthouse, John S. Pinkham, a leading businessman who owned Pinkham Moving Van Brokers, Henry Gaines, Vice President of the Home Benefit Association and Armstrong Realty, Betty Lightfoot, realtor and insurance broker, B.J. Taylor, pharmacist, Divers Coleman, Newark's first policeman were some of the influential blacks among Bethany's membership. The pulpit of Bethany Baptist Church was a stepping stone to leadership in secular activities.

With the arrival of the new residents in Newark, new churches opened, called "storefront churches" because they met in buildings formerly used commercially. These churches reflected the spiritual and social needs of their Southern migrant congregations. Most were located in the central city and drew their parishoners from the masses of poor and uneducated. The storefront churches were transient, poor and had little or no political influence.

During the same period, a new trend in black religion emerged: alternative or non-traditional religions. Unique to the urban North and considered to be cults by the traditionalists, the alternative groups attracted many followers among Newark's blacks. One of the most secretive of the cults was that formed by Noble Drew Ali. Ali, a self-proclaimed prophet from North Carolina, founded the Moorish Temple. The Temple blended orthodox Islam and ethnic respectability with obedience to the American government. Another significant cult, of national importance, was Father Divine's Peace Mission Movement. Father Divine, a former hedge clipper from Baltimore, promised his followers immortality if they did not deviate from his rules. He also promised prosperity for all. His followers were not allowed to smoke or drink alcohol. They lived in centers called "Heavens." Father Divine encouraged positive thinking and abstinence from material things. He was reported to have had as many as 10,000 members in Newark. During the height of the Depression he ran free soup kitchens for the poor.

Father Divine established three "Heavens" or centers in New Jersey, one of which was the Rivera Hotel on the corner of Clinton and High Streets.

Prior to the black migration the old black middle class in Newark avoided organized social service toward the less self-sufficient. Their clubs, churches, cultural societies, alumni associations and fraternal orders stressed racial uplift and respectability. Much of their activities were social. However, after the first black migration these groups were pressed into service by the deteriorating conditions of Newark blacks and by appeals from black social workers and interracial service groups.

The Urban League, the N.A.A.C.P., the Colored YM-YWCA programs were vehicles through which the black middle class, with the help of affluent whites served underprivileged blacks. Though the Urban League devoted itself exclusively to problems facing blacks, its organizational structure stressed interracialism more than race identity. Since the League was committed to educating and expanding the vision and understanding of whites, the Newark Urban League membership included both the black middle class and philanthropic whites like Mrs. Felix Fuld. Mr. William Ashby, a social worker and graduate of Yale was the first Director of the Newark Chapter. He served in the position for many years and did much to help improve the condition of blacks in the city.

The Friendly Fuld Neighborhood House, Newark's most successful black settlement house in the 1920's and 1930's was also founded by an interracial group. The House received considerable financial support from Louis Bamberger, owner of the city department store. In the 1930's it was the meeting place for clubs, classes, scout troops, a day nursery and a food dispensary for ghetto children. The Court Street or Colored Y provided recreational and civic services for blacks in Newark. It was directed for many years by Arthur Hardy and received most of its funding from the larger Y organizations which would not admit blacks.

These agencies were particularly important, since during the Depression years established social agencies like the Salvation

Army and the Goodwill Mission did little to assist blacks. They were also important as the training ground for the next generation of blacks who would provide the leadership during the period of social protest and the movement for civil rights. Harold Lett was one of the leaders who took blacks into political activism and social protest. Lett became Director of the Urban League in 1934 and remained in the position until 1945. Under his leadership the League changed directions and attuned itself to the growing national Civil Rights Movement.

As America's involvement in World War II escalated, blacks' demands for equality and civil rights intensified. Blacks questioned how America could hold herself up to the rest of the world as an example of correct democratic government when black citizens were denied full participation in most areas of American life. As blacks were called to fight fascism in Europe, they began examining their own subjugation at home. Newark blacks under the leadership of men like Harold Lett protested their exclusion from public facilities, theatres, restaurants, public pools and hospitals. As the Depression ended and prosperity returned, blacks found that they were allowed to experience the bad times but rarely the good. They were still shut out of jobs. Even the firms producing war materials would not hire blacks.

In January 1941, A. Philip Randolph, President of the Sleeping Car Porters threatened to organize a mass march on Washington to protest discrimination in America, especially in the defense industries. The march found enthusiastic support in Newark. On June 25, 1941, President Roosevelt issued a proclamation which sought to end discrimination in defense employment, through the Fair Employment Practices Commission. Although the Commission had no enforcement power, it did set a precedent by treating fair employment practice as a civil right.

In 1942, when the federal government leased the then new Prudential Building in Newark for its Office of Dependency Benefits (ODB), it hired a staff which was at its height 26% black. For the first time, blacks were utilized in every department, even as supervisors.

New Jersey went on to take steps to end discrimination in public schools and the militia. In the period between 1944 and 1948, the New Jersey Supreme Court upheld attempts to outlaw discrimination in various areas of public life. It led the mood of the country, ruling against discrimination in public housing, public educational facilities and public accommodations years before Brown vs. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas in 1954. (Recall that even earlier Newark had officially desegregated its public schools in 1870 and New Jersey had passed a state school desegregation law in 1881 and a civil rights act guaranteeing equal access to public accommodations in 1884. Implementation of these laws however had been far from always carried out.)

In April 1945, a month before Germany surrendered, the Act Against Discrimination was passed ending racial discrimination in employment in New Jersey. The Act also established the Division Against Discrimination as part of the Department of Education, the first agency in New Jersey created to facilitate an end to racial discrimination. In 1947, Oliver Randolph, a black attorney (the first black admitted to the New Jersey Bar) and former State Assemblyman, was the only black delegate at the Constitution Convention called to revise the New Jersey State Constitution. Randolph fought tenuously for and won a strong anti-discrimination section in the new edition. The Clause ended, among other things, segregation in the state military units.

When World War II ended, there was talk of a new world order devoted to human freedom. White opinions in some parts of the country had begun to be more sympathetic toward blacks during Roosevelt's New Deal and the War. In Newark, the Interracial Council organized to improve conditions of the black race. It was able to induce City Hospitals to end their longstanding whites only hiring policy. In 1946, Dr. E. Mae Carroll and Dr. Clarence Jannifer were appointed to the staff. Simultaneously black women were admitted to City Hospital's previously all white nursing school.

The dramatic civil rights action taken by New Jersey during the World War II years and afterward encouraged a new, more positive view of New Jersey nationally. The post World War II period was marked by the confidence of black leaders and white supporters that racial equality in America was an attainable goal.

During and after the war blacks continued to migrate to Newark in large numbers, encouraged by the prosperity achieved by some through government defense jobs and by new housing subsidized and protected by the federal government. By 1950, blacks in Newark had increased more than 60% from 45,760 to 74,965. As more blacks came to the city, more whites left for the suburbs. Thus, despite the increase in the black population, the overall population of Newark only rose by 11,000.¹⁴

The post World War II prosperity mobilized the white middle class and sent scores of industries to the surrounding communities, encouraged by the GI Bill, veteran mortgages and the popularity of the automobile. Between 1950 and 1960, Newark lost 250 manufacturers.¹⁵ Furthermore, when the war ended blacks who had worked in war related industries in jobs protected by federal mandate against job discrimination, were once again unemployed and facing the familiar shortage of decent housing.

New public housing facilities did not provide enough help. Seven low-income housing projects had been finished just before the war. By 1946 there were 2,110 white families and only 643 black families in the units. Four of the projects had no blacks at all, despite their desperate need for decent housing at any price.¹⁶ Black families were left the aging buildings on "The Hill" and peripheral areas like Clinton Hill.

Blacks in Newark had never enjoyed any political power. The reasons were many, not the least of which was Newark's City Commission form of government. In 1954, when Newark switched to a Mayor-Council government, blacks saw an opportunity to elect their own councilman. By 1962, Newark blacks in their increased numbers realized voting power and for the first time exhibited political clout. Blacks and Italians formed a shaky ethnic coalition. The collective voting power was successful in unseating Mayor Leo Carling, an ex-Teamster Union official with the solid support of the business community. Hugh J. Addonizio, a liberal and former New Jersey Congressman was elected Newark's new Mayor.

14. John T. Cunningham
Newark
New Jersey Historical Society, 1966
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16. Robert Curvin
The Persistant Minority
Princeton University, 1975
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15. John T. Cunningham
Newark
New Jersey Historical Society, 1966
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After the election the black-Italian alliance was shortlived. Addonizio's term in office was plagued with clashes with the still growing black community, whose leadership was becoming increasingly militant and demanding. This growing militancy in Newark was reflective of the growth of impatience and militancy of blacks nationally. The alliance developed strains over issues of job integration, especially on construction work in the city; police brutality, the police were largely Italian, the persons arrested largely black; political influence. Although Addonizio appointed a number of blacks to positions of responsibility, the key positions throughout Newark's government went to Italians; corruption, many of Addonizio's appointees were accused of having organized crime connections.

Blacks felt once Addonizio was elected he turned his back on their community. The emerging leadership was young and inspired by the civil rights movement and the calls for black power. It no longer depended on conventional politics or city hall. Politics by street demonstrations and the organizing of the "grass roots" became the tools of the new activists politicians.

By 1966, when Newark was celebrating its three hundredth anniversary, a militant black front had developed. Its spokesmen were Robert Curvin, leader of C.O.R.E. (Congress of Racial Equality), Tom Hayden of the Students for a Democratic Society and poet-activist, Leroy Jones, Imamu Baraka of the United Brothers, and others. Although traditional black politicians like Irvine Tayloer and George Richardson remained vocal, a new rhetoric was being called for. This collection of political organizations along with numerous neighborhood groups gave the black community a vigilant and aggressive political voice that challenged Addonizio's Administration and pushed for a black mayor and balanced representation on the City Council.

Several blacks entered the mayoral race in 1966, among them Kenneth A. Gibson, an engineer. He did not win but made a strong enough showing to raise the notion of a black mayor for Newark. This possibility gave additional impetus to the movement for political change. By the latter half of the 1960's, blacks had become 50% of the total population of Newark. The heightened political consciousness of the community would no longer accept token representation and symbolic recognition.

The relationship between the Addonizio Administration and its black constituency

was strained to the limit. The political, economic and racial tensions in Newark peaked on July 12, 1967 when a black cab driver, under arrest for a traffic violation was allegedly beaten by a policeman from the Fourth Precinct of the Central Ward. The Precinct was across the street from a densely populated public housing project. There were several witnesses to the beating. The black community was sensitive to the issue of police brutality and word of it spread quickly. Three attempts to press the Addonizio Administration to establish a civilian police complaint review board to address the community's concern with objectionable police practices had failed. As groups formed outside of the Precinct, the words and accusations hurled between policemen and the crowd erupted into violence and a city wide riot which lasted five days. Twenty-three people were killed. Total damage to property was in excess of \$10,000,000.

The 1967 Riots were a disaster for Newark. The scarring experience was a stimulus for several trends already underway in the city: Firstly, Addonizio's troubled political fortune continued to decline, culminating in his indictment for extortion and his defeat in the 1970 election. Addonizio was convicted of conspiring to extort and was sentenced to ten years in prison. Secondly, new black leadership arose. The older politicians who were so accepting of the place allowed them by white powerholders were forced to step aside for younger, more militant leaders who drew support directly from the grass roots. A manifestation of the "power to the people" trend was the United Brothers. A black coalition, United Brothers was organized by Imamu Baraka, leader of an African nationalist organization which aimed to build a self-determining black society uncompromised by white influence.

Thirdly, the trend toward black power unleashed a white backlash in the city. A white vigilante group, the North Ward Citizens Committee, headed by Anthony Imperiale. The Committee patrolled their neighborhoods at night to keep black people out. Imperiale claimed thousands of followers. Perhaps he appealed to the segment of Newark's residents who wanted to fight back against urban decay and the deterioration of Newark's ethnic neighborhoods. Unfortunately, some saw this fight as one against blacks who they blamed for crime and lower standards¹⁶.

16. Heinz, Anne; Jacob, Herbert; Lineberry, Robert, Editors
Crime in City Politics
 Longman, Inc., N.Y., 1983
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Fourthly, the Riots pushed many of the remaining middle class and businesses, Newark's tax base out of the city.

In 1969, black organizers launched a massive voter registration effort. Then in 1970 after a bitter and divisive mayoral campaign, Newark elected its first black Mayor, Kenneth Gibson. His election was due in large part to the efforts of Newark's peoples' movement led by blacks who wanted to see change in the city and its blacks to become politically self-determining. Gibson won virtually all the black and Puerto-Rican votes and 15% of the white vote.

Black Newark accepted their black mayor with euphoric optimism. It waited for Gibson to make good on campaign promises to improve city services, clean up City Hall and in some vague way to make life in Newark better. But the city soon found out that a black mayor was not in itself the panacea it expected. Newark continued its downward trend begun in the 1920's. The fiscal problems Gibson inherited from Addonizio (a hidden sixty million dollar deficit), could not be rectified by the federal dollars Gibson sought to attract. Newark was ridden with problems for which there were no easy solutions. Keeping business interests in the city and attracting new ones, lethargy and incompetence in city government were just some of the difficulties with which Gibson was confronted.

Despite Gibson's election, urban renewal and the infusion of federal and state programs designed to improve living conditions, most of the old problems in Newark remain. They are old, entrenched and complex. But the residents, businesses and leadership of Newark continue to try to rebuild and revitalize. There are those that think that Newark's best chance for the future is a partnership between the public and private sectors to rebuild it. Renaissance Newark, a non-profit corporation created to promote the city to the corporate world, is directing developers to prime sites downtown. Recently, three new office towers have been built.

Newark's Economic Development Corporation is involved in construction projects involving major corporations like New Jersey Bell Telephone and the Prudential Insurance Company. Plans are also underway to attract major hotels, corporations and to build a riverfront project like those tried in other major cities.

Will these efforts succeed? Will Newark ever realize the vitality and prosperity it knew during its golden age? What will happen to the black residents of Newark? Can blacks make the American Dream work for them in this city?

The answers are not yet known, only to be speculated upon. However, one thing is clear, Newarkers, black and white must continue to try.